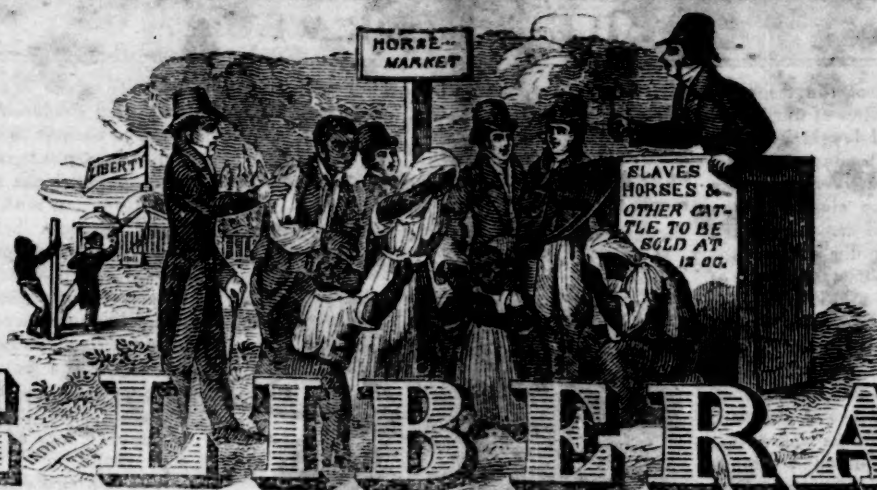


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WALBRIDGE.



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. II.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

NO. 46.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN, ALL MANKIND.

[SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1832.

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JOHN RICH.

sed to the kind of slavery which exists in our slaveholding states.

The first I shall invite you to consider is a prediction found in Gen. xv. 14—'That nation whom they shall serve, will I judge, and afterward shall they come out with great substance.' This prediction relates to the slavery which the Egyptians inflicted upon the descendants of Abraham. And for such infliction God said he would judge them; but if it be not unjust to enslave our fellow men, why did the Almighty denounce sentence of judgment against the Egyptians for enslaving the nation of Israel? And why did he execute that sentence by inflicting upon them ten most desolating plagues? What were the disgusting plagues of bloody fountains, croaking frogs, loathsome and devouring insects, and horrible diseases, but so many different emblems of the Divine abhorrence of the crime of inflicting slavery upon an innocent nation? What were the plagues of mummy stones, terrific fire, and tremendous thunder, of horrible darkness, and of the destroying Angel the messenger of sudden death to all the first born of Egypt, but emblems of Divine indignation against the injustice of slavery? Surely the various punishments inflicted upon the Egyptians for enslaving the Israelites are so many demonstrations that the practice of slavery is a crime of the greatest magnitude, and as such highly offensive to Jehovah. The great substance which the prediction awarded to the nation of Israel is likewise a striking demonstration of the injustice of enslaving the human species. The Egyptians did not escape with merely suffering severe inflictions of punishment; but they were made to remunerate the Israelites for the service which they had unjustly exacted from them. Hence, according to the prediction, the nation of Israel came out of Egypt 'with great substance.' Let it not be said that the Israelites were the chosen people of God, and that, therefore, to enslave them was peculiarly criminal. There could be no more natural injustice in enslaving them than there is in enslaving any other innocent people. And let it be remembered that God has given to his son 'the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.' Psalm ii. 8. Then all nations are now the property of the son of God, and consequently to enslave any of them must be as criminal as it was to enslave the nation of Israel. Permit me here to remark that the crime of the Egyptians in enslaving the Israelites was in several respects less aggravated than is that of the Americans in enslaving the Africans. The Egyptian slavery was much less rigorous than is that which exists in our slaveholding states. The Israelites were not made the property of individuals, as are the Africans in America—consequently they were not liable to be taken from their families and sold in the markets like beasts, nor does it appear that the females were at all enslaved; but that merely the males were made to labor, under task masters, in the service of the King. They were permitted to live in a body together, and to hold property. They had Elders or Rulers among them whom they could convene together when necessary, and according to their own testimony, they were plentifully fed. These statements are fully verified by the book of Exodus; and they show that the slavery to which the Egyptians subjected the Israelites was much more tolerable than is that to which the Africans are now subjected by the Americans—Hence in this respect the crime of the Egyptians was less heinous than is that of American slaveholders, who alike enslave male and female, make them private property, separate them from their dearest relatives, and without regard to age or sex, buy and sell them in the markets as though they were mere beasts. And in many instances, they are made to endure nakedness and hunger. It is true that Pharaoh devised a cruel method of preventing the increase of the Israelites; but it does not appear to have been executed to any considerable extent, and even that device, dreadful as it was, fell far short of the cruelty of subjecting men to a whole life of the severe torture, excessive toil and starvation, to which thousands of the Africans are subjected in various parts of the United States. Better far, for many of the hapless Africans to have entered the world under the bloody decree of Pharaoh, to have died by it, in an infantile state, than to endure a whole life of death under American bondage. It is undeniable, that, in every slaveholding state, many slaves endure sufferings immensely more dreadful than were those inflicted upon the new-born infants of Israel by the bloody command of Pharaoh. Hence, when the slavery of Egypt is viewed, even in its worst forms, it does not appear to equal in cruelty that which exists among us. Consequently, it appears to me that the criminality of modern slavery does far exceed that of the slavery of Egypt.

I think it is proper to remark further, that at the time in which the Israelites were enslaved by the Egyptians, the knowledge of the natural rights of man was very limited, and of course, despotism generally pervaded the world. The Egyptians were, doubtless, very ignorant in respect to the injustice of enslaving the Israelites, and although this did not free them from crime, yet it tended to the mitigation of their guilt; but there has been no period in which the natural rights of man have been better understood than they are in the present time, by any other nation, as they are by the United States of North America, in which experience has proved the truth of theory in relation to both civil and religious liberty. Hence, we conclude that slavery never was in any other age, attended with so high a degree of criminality as it is in the present, nor is the crime of it, in any other nation, attended with so many aggravations as it is in our own. Consequently, if the

crime of slavery in Egypt was great, it is immensely greater in America!

The second passage of scripture, I shall present to your consideration, is found in Exod. xxi. 16. 'He that stealeth a man, and selleth him; or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.' This law is recognized and re-sanctioned by the Apostle Paul, 1 Tim. i. 9, 10. 'The law is not made for a righteous man, but—for men-stealers.' It is evident that there is no method of introducing innocent men into a state of slavery, that is more just than that of stealing them. The criminality of stealing does not consist in the secret manner in which it is effected; but in the unjust violation of another's right. Hence, it is evident that the law against man-stealing forbids alike every other method of enslaving the innocent. I admit that a man by crime may forfeit his own right to liberty, but such forfeiture cannot justly take away the liberty of his offspring. Consequently, hereditary and involuntary slavery cannot possibly exist but by the violation of natural and unforfeited rights, and of course by the violation of the law which prohibits man-stealing. The very design of giving such a law was undeniably that of securing to innocent persons the natural right of freedom. I presume you will not imagine that the man who raises another has a right to his services during his life. Thousands of hapless orphans, without the means of support, are provisionally cast upon society; but who will pretend that they, who raise them, are entitled to their services during their lives, and therefore may justly enslave them? The service of a person, until he arrives at the age of twenty-one years, is considered by the laws of our nation the price of his raising. Such service parents are allowed to receive for raising their children. And certainly slaveholders who raise Africans cannot be justly entitled to longer service. Indeed most, if not all of them, according to the plainest principles of justice, are not entitled to a moment's service from the Africans they raise. They generally bring them up in a very coarse manner, have not the trouble of nursing them, give them no education, and at the same time receive such labor from their parents as more than compensates for the little expense incurred by supporting them during their minority. Hence there are very few, if any cases at all, in which slaveholders are justly entitled to the services of African children until they become twenty-one years of age, and surely much less are they entitled to the services of any of them during life. Consequently, from well established principles it is evident that the man who enslaves another merely because he has raised him, violates his rights as much as the man stealer does those of the man he steals and enslaves. But perhaps you may even suppose that they who purchase slaves have a just title to their offspring, and of course may enslave them without the violation of natural rights. But it ought to be recollected that the slaves who are thus purchased were themselves unjustly enslaved—they were either stolen, or they descended from those who were stolen, and therefore none can have any just right either to buy or sell them. But were the parents justly bound to service during life, even that could not give the right of enslaving the offspring. It is admitted by all enlightened nations, that parents have no right to the service of their own children beyond a limited time, and therefore they are neither permitted to hold them in perpetual bondage themselves, nor to sell them for slaves during life. And certainly, if parents who generate, bear and nurse children have no right to hold them as slaves during life—no others can have such right. It cannot be even pretended that slaveholders have as much right to the service of children whom they have neither generated, borne, nor nursed, as parents have to those of their own offspring. If generating, bearing and nursing a man cannot give the right of perpetual property in him, nothing else short of creating him can. Hence we conclude, with the utmost certainty, that the practice of our kind of slavery, which originated in violence and theft, and is perpetuated by means equally unjust as those by which it had its origin, is a flagrant violation of the divine law against man-stealing. And it is worthy of remark, that the original word which the Apostle uses, 1 Tim. i. 10, and is translated into the word man-stealers, comprehends not merely those who steal men, but also all who are concerned either in enslaving any of the human species, or in retaining them in slavery. Indeed, it might be rendered slave dealers with as much propriety as it is rendered men-stealers. And, in reality, there is no essential difference between these two classes of men—both alike de-

* To this purpose is the following note, which was privately inserted in the Con. of Faith, revised A. D. 1805, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. See notes under quest. 142 larg. Cat. [1 Tim. i. 10. (The law is made) for whoremongers, for men that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers. This crime among the Jews exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment. Exod. xxi. 16. And the Apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses in its original import comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or detaining them in it. Hominum fures, qui servos vel liberos abducunt, retinent, vendunt vel emunt. Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen, and keep, sell or buy them. To steal a freeman, says Grotius, is the highest kind of theft. In other instances we only steal human property, but when we steal or retain men in slavery, we seize those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant, lords of the earth. Gen. i. 28. Vid. Poli synopsis in loc.']

prive innocent persons of their liberties—the one commits the theft, and the other consents to it, and receives and vends what is stolen. Now all slaveholders are in some degree concerned both in men-stealing and slave dealing, and, therefore, the law is made for slaveholders as well as for men-stealers and slave dealers. That they are all alike guilty to the same degree, I will not pretend to assert; but that the most innocent and unsuspecting among them are 'partakers of other men's sins,' seems to me undeniable. And though they escape the judgment of men, yet they shall not escape the righteous judgment of God. The sentence which God has annexed to the law against man-stealing shows how much he abhors slavery. Death! certain death! is the penalty which the Almighty has attached to the crime of depriving an innocent person of his liberty. He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall SURELY BE PUT TO DEATH.' And it ought to be remembered that this awful penalty was annexed to the crime of enslaving the innocent, at a period of the world when the ignorance of the rights of man tended much to mitigate the guilt of slavery. The criminality of slavery continually increases with the progress of knowledge.

The third passage I shall invite you to consider, is found in Deut. xxiii. 15, 16. 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.' In this passage we have the judgment of God against one kind of servitude—The justice of the command necessarily supposes the injustice of the servitude to which it refers. And be that kind of servitude what it might, I am sure it could not be worse than that which is involuntary and perpetual; therefore the divine decision against it must be equally against that which exists in modern times. This divine decision originated in the principles of justice and mercy, and, of course, must be as immutable as are the principles in which it had its origin. Justice and mercy can never cease to require the protection of those who fly to us from oppression. Hence, we conclude that the passage under consideration does fully condemn the modern practice of slavery.

The fourth passage I shall present to your consideration you will find in Isa. lvi. 6. 'Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke.' That the Israelites did attempt the practice of involuntary and perpetual slavery is evident from Jer. xxiii. 8, 17. In this they transcended the limits of divine permission in relation to servitude. Hence, they were commanded 'to let the oppressed go free, and—break every yoke.' And if it was criminal in them to extend servitude beyond the limits of divine permission, it must be equally so in us. There is no divine permission for enslaving the Africans, and therefore the command is as obligatory upon their enslavers as it was upon the mancipating Israelites. Hence, every slaveholder is commanded to break the yoke of bondage, and 'to let the oppressed go free.'

The fifth and last passage I shall present to your consideration contains the substance of the law and the prophets. It is found in Math. vii. 12. 'Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.' Every man who is acquainted with the attendant and consequent evils of slavery would, if a slave, desire to be liberated. And certainly such desire would be consistent with the divine law. Hence, no man can hold an innocent person to involuntary servitude without violating the Savior's law of love. For, in doing this, he does to another what he would not wish another to do to him. No earthly consideration could induce the slaveholder to take the place of his slaves. Therefore it is abundantly evident that he does not do to them as he would have them do to him. He does hold them to service, to which he would not wish himself to be held. There is no way of evading the force of these conclusions, but by first limiting the Savior's injunction to lawful desires, and then asserting that it is unlawful for a slave to desire to be free—consequently we find many adding 'like circumstances' to the text, in order to make it tally with their own conduct. I readily admit that the injunction necessarily supposes that we are bound to desire of others nothing but what is in accordance with the divine law; but nothing, except a mind under the infatuating influence of an insatiable avarice, can imagine that it is unlawful for a slave to desire freedom. All men were alike 'created free'; and for a man to desire what is his natural and unforfeited right, never can be discordant with the law of God. Hence Paul, when addressing servants, says, 'If thou mayest be free, use it rather.' Now this, whether it has reference to men servants or involuntary slaves, proves that the desire for freedom is lawful, and that it is even a duty to obtain liberty when it is attainable. But perhaps you may ask, is it lawful for a slave to desire the master, who has purchased him, to liberate him with the loss of the purchase money? I say it is lawful. None has a right to sell a man, who has never forfeited his liberty, and of course none can have a right to purchase him; and if a man has no right to purchase another, he has no right to hold him when purchased. And it is easier for a man to endure the loss of a few hundred dollars, than it is for one to endure a whole life of bondage. Hence, we say, when one man holds another in bondage during life, merely because he has given a few hundred dollars for him, he gives the most decisive evidence that he does

not love him as he does himself. The slaveholder would give a million of dollars, if he had them, rather than be a slave during life; yet for the sake of a few hundred, he will hold another in slavery during life, and at the same time profess to love him as he does himself! But how absurd is such a profession! Could the most malignant hatred do worse than hold a man in abject slavery for life? Thus it is most evident that the slaveholder does violate the law and the prophets. And the New Testament is but a development of the principles contained in the law and the prophets. Hence, the whole Bible is opposed to slavery. The sacred volume is one grand scheme of benevolence—beams of love and mercy emanate from every page, while the voice of justice denounces the oppressor, and speaks his awful doom!

Finally, I shall consider some of the excuses which have been offered for the practice of slavery. I. It is said 'the government has enslaved the Africans, and therefore slavery is the sin of the nation, and not of individuals.' Nothing can be more fallacious than this excuse. The government never made, nor held a single slave, nor did it ever compel a single individual to become a slaveholder. Individuals first made, and still continue to hold slaves, and for these purposes they sought, and obtained permission and protection from government. Hence, they involved both themselves and the government in the guilt of slavery. Therefore it is as unjust as it is vain for slaveholders to charge their sin upon the government. Every one of them shall bear his own sin.

II. It is said 'the laws of the slaveholding states prohibit the liberation of the slaves, and therefore the crime of slavery falls upon the states, and not upon individuals.' To this I reply, that these states did not compel any to become slaveholders—and therefore individuals stand first in the list of crimes. And besides this, slaveholders made the very laws which prohibit emancipation, and they are the very men who prevent the repeal of those laws. Hence, they are the sole cause of the evil. It is vain for us to charge our sins upon the government which we made ourselves, and may alter when we please. And we may further add, that they who wish to liberate their slaves may give them a pass, and send them into other states whose laws will free them.

III. It is said, 'Alas! poor creatures, freedom would ruin them—they are not capable of doing for themselves—they would all either starve or steal.'

Immaculate tenderness! Astonishing sympathy! But what is to be dreaded more than such tenderness and sympathy? Who would wish to have them exercised upon himself? The assertion that 'they are not capable of doing for themselves' is false, as may be shown by a thousand instances. Were not the Haytiens once in a state of the most abject slavery? Did they not liberate themselves? And have they not honorably maintained their independence, in spite of the powerful efforts of the French nation to subdue them? Have they not formed a respectable republican government? Have they not made wise regulations for the promotion of science among them? And have they not the prospect of becoming an enlightened and happy nation? And have not many of those who have been emancipated in America, become wealthy and good citizens? And where shall we find any instances of starvation among them? Have not the poorest economists among them been able to provide something better than the few pints of corn per week, in many places, allowed to slaves? How many of them have gone entirely naked? And where have they committed worse thefts than have been committed by the whites? And is it not well known that many of the crimes charged upon the Africans have been perpetrated by white men? It appears to me undeniable that freedom with its worst consequences, is better than slavery with its best consequences. The most miserable of those who are free, are not so miserable in every respect as are some in slavery. Hence, we say that the tenderness which induces men to hold others in abject slavery, in order to save them from the ruinous effects of freedom, is but a mere palliative for a guilty conscience, and must be the offspring of blind avarice.

IV. It is said, 'that some slaves have very cruel masters, and therefore it is an act of benevolence, in the humane, to buy and hold them in bondage, in order to better their condition.'

This is a very plausible excuse for the practice of slavery, and has no doubt had a powerful influence upon many well meaning people; but it is as false as it is plausible. Every man readily supposes himself to be humane—Hence, every man, upon the same principle, would think himself authorized to purchase and hold slaves, and thus the widest door would be opened to the practice of what we admit to be in itself unjust. If all the humane would refuse to hold slaves, the evil of slavery would soon be banished from the world. The example of the humane encourages the cruel, by giving countenance to their oppressions; and their kindness to their slaves keeps out of view many of the worst evils of slavery, and causes it to assume a mild and tolerable aspect; thus their partial benevolence becomes universal cruelty. If slavery is unjust, it must be criminal to sanction it by our example.

Again, suppose you were to purchase from the Algerines an unfortunate captive whom they were determined to enslave during life, do you suppose that their determination to deprive him of liberty would justify you in subjecting him to similar bondage with some mitigations of suffering? Certainly, you would never so much as think of subjecting such a person to slavery for life, unless his

THE LIBERATOR.

Man has no moral right to oppress his brethren.

The planters talk of vested rights, and say you cannot touch them. If persons have investments, originally acquired by fraud, murder, and robbery, why

they can boast of their association with banditti!

We do not hear them talk of vested wrongs. Let

the slave but speak his sentiments upon his wrongs,

and troops are sent amongst them—the whip and

tortures are applied. And is it to such men we are to

apply for the relief of the persecuted slave? I, for

myself, would, if in a state of slavery, prefer even

the chance of being eat by cannibals, to dying by

torments with tortures too horrible to dilate upon.

Speech of Rev. Mr. Burnett of England.

LETTERS ON SLAVERY,

ADDRESSED TO

MR. THOMAS RANKIN,

Merchant at Middlebrook, Augusta Co. Va.

BY JOHN RANKIN,

Pastor of the Presbyterian Churches of Rip-

ley and Strait-creek, Brown Co. Ohio.

LETTER XIII.

DEAR BROTHER,—I shall now present to

your consideration several passages of the sacred

scriptures which I believe to be decidedly oppo-

sed to the kind of slavery which exists in our

slaveholding states.

The first I shall invite you to consider is a

prediction found in Gen. xv. 14—'That nation

whom they shall serve, will I judge, and after-

ward shall they come out with great substance.'

skin were black. But the color of the skin does not in the least alter the nature of the case—the law of love knows no distinction in colors—it binds us alike to regard the natural rights of all men—whatever is naturally due from us to a white man, is equally so to one that is black.

V. It is said, 'that the Africans are in slavery, and will certainly be continued in it, and therefore one may as well hold them as another; and he who holds them does not take away their liberty, for this they never possessed.'

Suppose a man were to happen with a band of robbers, and they should invite him to join them in robbing a travelling gentleman of his money. He, at first, expostulates with them about the cruelty and injustice of robbery—they tell him he may have his choice as to the matter in question, but they are determined to have the traveller's money. He at length says—'Alas, poor man, they will certainly take his money, and my refusing to take part with them will not alter the case, nor better the condition of the unfortunate stranger; therefore I may as well join, and get a share of the spoil—I may as well have it as another. Away he goes with the rest, and takes his share of the money.' Is he the less guilty, because the others would certainly have committed the robbery without him? Then surely a man is not the less guilty in holding an innocent person in bondage, because he would certainly be held in it by another. An innocent man has ever a right to freedom, and therefore whoever holds him in bondage does take away his liberty.

VI. Finally, it is said, 'It will not do to free them among us. If they must be among us, let them be slaves.'

We are commanded to 'do justly and love mercy,' and this we ought to do without delay, and leave the consequences attending it to the control of Him who gave the command. We ought also to remember that no excuse for disobedience will avail us anything when he shall call us to judgment. If we refuse to do the Africans justice, we may expect the supreme Governor of the world to avenge their wrongs, and cause their own arm to make them free! Hence, our own safety demands their liberation. Hold them in bondage, and you will incur them to hardship, and prepare them for the day of battle. You will also keep them together, increase their numbers, and enable them to overpower the nation. Their enormous increase, beyond that of the white population, is truly alarming. But liberate them; and their increase will become proportionate to that of the rest of the nation. They will scatter over this Union—many of them will emigrate to Hayti and Africa. Prepare them for citizenship, and give them the privileges of free men; and they will have no inducements to do us harm; but persist in oppressing them, and ruin will eventually burst upon our nation. The storm is gathering fast—distant clouds already begin to darken our horizon! A few more years, and the work of death will commence!

Now, my dear brother, I think I have clearly shown that both reason and revelation do condemn the practice of slavery. I therefore entreat you to liberate the poor Africans you have purchased, and provide for them some comfortable way of living. To have done this, will give you no painful sensations upon a dying bed.

I must now close my series of letters—I hope you will receive them as so many tokens of sincere affection for you. My heart feels as I approach the closing moment. It seems as if I am about to bid you a long and uncertain farewell! All the tender scenes of our youthful days seem at once to rise to view, to awaken the softest sensibilities of nature, and excite the strongest solicitude for your happiness; while the appalling thought presses upon me that you will refuse to hear a brother's voice, the voice of reason, and what is infinitely more, the voice of God. A brother pleads with you; nature by all her tenderest sensibilities, and the God of nature, by all those heavenly sympathies that issued from a Saviour's bleeding heart, plead with you, to 'do justly, to love mercy,' and to let the oppressed go free! And can you refuse? And if you do, I am your brother—I will not speak your doom!!!

FAREWELL!!!

OUR CAUSE IS ONWARD!

We have received the following impressive and stirring Appeal to the inhabitants of Providence, printed on a letter-sheet, over which is a representation of a slave bound with chains in a posture of supplication, with the following appropriate inscriptions:—'Am I not a man and a brother?'—'Liberty is the word with me,' (Esop.)—'Above all, liberty,' (Selden.)—'Give me liberty, or give me death,' (Patrick Henry.)

CITY OF PROVIDENCE.

Philanthropy—Patriotism—Piety.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF PROVIDENCE.

Why was the place of your prosperous and delightful residence called PROVIDENCE? In grateful acknowledgment of God's goodness to the founder of this city, when banished from his former home, he here sought and found a retreat from irreligious persecution; and established an asylum, in which justice, oppression, tyranny and bondage, whether from the Church, or the State, should have no place, nor name forever. His principles and example, his prayers and tears, with a meek but piercing cry, salute our ears and assail our hearts, and demand our affections and exertions to relieve and bless our fellow creatures, who are enslaved, abused, defamed and destroyed in these United States. This meek and piercing cry for compassion, for justice and truth, in favor of the colored people, if it is disregarded, will soon be followed by the flashes of divine wrath and the thunders of Almighty power against their enemies and all persons, who refuse to befriend and comfort this afflicted and injured people. The declaration of our national independence, the fundamental principles of the government of the United States, and of the governments of all the states in the Union, the sentiments and objects, which induced the American colonies to oppose the counsels, the armies and navies of Great Britain, are counteracted; indeed, every fundamental doctrine in the American System of civil and religious liberty is violated and outraged, so long as a remnant of slavery exists in our land; so far as any man, woman, or child of whatever nation, or color, language, or name, is not viewed and treated in these United States, in respect to all the rights, duties and blessings of religion, government and humanity, as our ancestors, in the days and years of their oppression and affliction, claimed to be viewed and treated for themselves and their children.

Our benevolent institutions, our contributions, our exertions, our prayers and tears, for the distressed nations and families of our fellow creatures, arise before the throne of eternal glory and impartial goodness, branded with partiality and hypoc-

risy, while we oppose or neglect the temporal and spiritual interests and necessities of our brothers and sisters and their sons and daughters of the colored people in our own land, by our own doors and before our own eyes. What means the voice of complaint and prayer from the closets of ten thousand Christians on behalf of the imprisoned missionaries, while we fasten, under a more unjust, cruel and hateful confinement, millions of our African brothers and sisters? Will God hear our prayers, while we refuse to hear the voice of his word, of his Spirit and Providence? The voice of God sounds through our land, and echoes over the whole earth, and demands for the African-Americans; that they be viewed and treated, without further delay, as his children and as our brethren. The voice of the Saviour's blood, equally shed for all nations, still cries from the cross, and demands all our hearts, our tongues and hands, that justice be done to our colored population. The voice of the Holy Spirit, thought still and small in the view of men, reaches the hearts of millions, at this hour, and demands that light and love, faith and hope, peace and joy be extended, by all wise, tender and faithful means, to the afflicted people of color throughout our land.

Will the ministers of the gospel, will any member of a Christian church, will the officers and students in the University, will any teacher or scholar in the school of the Friends; will any teacher, or any youth, or child, in the public and private schools; will any family, any father, or mother, son, or daughter, brother, or sister, in this prosperous and happy city, say unto the eternal Jehovah, we will neither do justice, nor love mercy, nor walk humbly before thee, in respect to the injured, abused, and degraded people of color?

To prevent such unwise, sinful, guilty and dangerous conduct, is the object of this address. Men, Brethren, and Fathers!—Women, Sisters, and Mothers!—We cast ourselves at your feet, and beseech you, by the tender mercies of God, by the blood of the Saviour, and by the grace of the Holy Spirit, to avert from yourselves and your children, from your beloved city and favored country, the clouds of divine vengeance, and the vials of divine wrath, which hang over our heads, because of the tears and groans, the wounds and the blood of our African brethren and sisters, which we have too long, too long, refused to regard. Let us do so no more, as we hope to be pardoned, accepted and blessed of God, in the great day of final decision and eternal retribution.

That this address may not appear to be an effusion of irrational excitement, or ridiculous apprehension, or disordered sensibility, we now submit to your deliberate consideration the following propositions respecting the colored people in these United States.

I. The true and correct principles of piety, patriotism, and philanthropy, require and bind all men, Christians and citizens, to view and treat the people of color in these United States, and their children, whether they be in a state of freedom or bondage, in respect to the rights, duties, and blessings of religion, government, and humanity, as the other people in these States ought to be viewed and treated in these respects.

II. The present state and prospects of this country, as well as the events and aspects of Divine Providence throughout the world, loudly and solemnly demand that all persons should be watchful and faithful to form, maintain and promote, respecting the people of color, enlightened and benevolent sentiments, affections and exertions, until the principles involved in the preceding proposition, be triumphantly and joyfully exemplified in these United States.

III. The conduct and sentiments of the colored people in their recent conventions, resolutions, and addresses, are essentially and substantially founded on true and solid principles; and they deserve the approbation and complacency, not merely of the people of their own complexion, but of all the people in these United States, and of all the nations and families of the earth.

IV. The present crisis affords a proper occasion and most powerful inducements to organize Societies, in which persons of color, as well as men, Christians, and citizens, of every name, sect, and party, may unite to afford unto the free people of color all the privileges and enjoyments, in respect to their temporal and spiritual interests, which are common to the other people in this country; and also to obtain and secure unto our African brethren and sisters, and their sons and daughters, who are now held in bondage and slavery, the same blessings.

V. Every person, to whom the preceding propositions may be presented, is respectfully and affectionately requested, in the true fear of God and with a proper regard to man, to consider, decide, speak and act, on these momentous and affecting subjects, as truth and duty require and demand.

N. B. This address, with these propositions, is published and circulated, in order to prepare for a public meeting for the organization of an Anti-Slavery Society in this City. The time and the place of such a meeting will be notified, as soon as the necessary arrangements for it have been made.

Providence, October 24th, 1832.

The abolitionists of Providence have acted wisely, in thus proposing a public meeting of the citizens, for the purpose of organizing an anti-slavery association. The cause emphatically appeals to all classes of men—to every religious sect: its aspect is solemn, persuasive and attractive—it has a voice which speaks louder than the blood of Abel—it has a claim upon public attention and public support, superior to any other in this country—it combines and presents all that is exalted in patriotism, or lovely in philanthropy, or desirable in religion. Its triumph will be the triumph of love over hatred, of safety over danger, of peace over war, of justice over oppression, of humanity over cruelty, of purity over licentiousness, of order over misrule, of plenty over pauperism, of light over darkness, of religion over infidelity—of all that is beautiful and holy and preservative, over all that is repulsive and sinful and corrupt. Its defeat must seal the destinies of this nation, and bring down the heaviest judgments of God upon it.

We know that this cause has found an abiding place in the hearts of many philanthropists and Christians in Providence, and we cherish the hope that the affecting appeal which has been made to the inhabitants of that beautiful city will result in a mighty demonstration of interest and moral courage on their part, in behalf of the perishing slaves. With the venerable Moses Brown for a standard bearer, why should they hesitate to rally together? We understand that the Rev.

Mr. Jocelyn purposes to be present at their meeting; and we shall be happy to comply with an invitation which has been kindly extended to us to be present also, if we can make our arrangements accordingly.

SLAVERY RECORD.



THE PLANTERS OF JAMAICA vs. THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Among the publications recently forwarded to us by James Cropper, Esq. of Liverpool, is the following article, which occupies, by the hugeness of its typography, a royal sheet of India paper. We suppose it was printed in this style for the purpose of posting it up in the most conspicuous places in the various cities, and attracting the attention of the British public—a capital device. We have put the atrocious resolution of the Jamaica planters in conspicuous types below, to ensure its perusal by every reader of the Liberator. The remarks upon it, from the London Morning Chronicle, are so spirited and valid as to preclude the necessity of any of our own. The Chronicle is correct in declaring that SLAVERY IS NOT SUSCEPTIBLE OF AMELIORATION, and that full, and complete, and instant EMANCIPATION is the only remedy for the evil. There is nothing good or benevolent, nothing worth preserving, nothing which is not utterly corrupt and abominable in the slave-system: why, then, should we make any attempt to repair or modify it? LET IT BE ANNIHILATED—ANNIHILATED NOW—ANNIHILATED FOREVER. Let it be swept away by a tempest of public indignation, with all its atrocities—and the sooner, the better, for our national safety and honor, for our repose and prosperity, for the victims of our cruelty, and for time and eternity.

And now the question should arise in the bosom of every Christian.—If the preachers of the gospel are to be extirpated by the planters in Jamaica, what security is there for the safety of those who preach the gospel at the south? The fact is, religion and slavery must be at eternal variance. Already have the planters at the south restricted religious liberty to a most alarming degree; they have gagged the mouths of the clergy, and are every year making their situation more intolerable and dangerous. It is not probable that there are twelve of their number, south of the Potomac, of any or of all denominations, who dare preach to the planters a real gospel sermon from the following text: 'Is not this the fact that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?' Hence, where slavery exists, religion is scarcely able to maintain even a nominal existence: its light may not be entirely quenched, but it gives no illumination from the socket. As the number of the slaves increases, the situation of the planters becomes more perilous—as peril rises, they grow more desperate, infatuated and suspicious—and there is every probability that the crisis is close at hand, when a scene of persecution against ministers of the gospel at the south, by these robbers of their species, will be witnessed, as proscription and bloody as that which is now visible in Jamaica.

People of the free States! Christians of every sect! have you no interest in this matter? You are now supporting the south, with all its abominations! Awake to your duty—interpose in a constitutional and righteous manner—plead for the oppressed and dying slaves—rise up, in imitation of the people of Great Britain, and say, SLAVERY MUST DIE!—If you will not, where is your country? where, the Christian religion?

FARTHER PERSECUTION OF THE MISSIONARIES!

Extract from the Morning Chronicle, dated London, Sept. 15, 1832.

A Jamaica paper of the 1st of August has been received. In the absence of events, the bitter animosity against the Baptists and other Sectarians may deserve a remark. Resolutions were moved and carried at a Public Meeting, to extirpate them, if possible, from the Island; but notice had been given by the Attorney-General, that several of the Resolutions were illegal. However, in order not to be intimidated, all the Resolutions were unanimously passed, and among them the following atrocious Declaration:

'We, the undersigned, most solemnly declare, that we are resolved, at the hazard of our lives; not to suffer any Baptist or other Sectarian Preacher or Teacher, or any Person professedly belonging to those Sects, to preach or to teach in any house in towns, or in any Districts of the country where the influence of the Colonial Union extends; and this we do—maintaining the purest loyalty to his Majesty King William the Fourth, as well as the highest veneration for the Established Religion, in defence of social order, and in strict conformity with the laws for the preservation of the public peace—to shield this portion of his Majesty's Island of Jamaica against insurrection and future destruction.'

And this is a sample of what we may expect from the gradual amelioration scheme! The truth is, and it cannot be too often repeated, that the

hostility of the West Indians against the Baptists and other Sectarians is, that they perceived they were in earnest to improve the Negroes. Slavery is not susceptible of amelioration; for in the degree in which the Slave's mind is enlarged, his dissatisfaction with his condition increases. There is no medium between abject prostration and complete emancipation. All the attempts to bolster up Slavery by Protectors of Slaves and otherwise, only make the matter worse, by weakening the authority of the Masters over the Slaves. The moment the Slave ceases to be wholly and entirely in the power of the Master, a source of jealousy between them springs up. We hold, therefore, that Emancipation, full and complete, is the only way of settling the question, except *a la Haiti*.

We can easily believe that the West Indians would have no objection to a Bishop or stylish Rector of the Established Church, for the best of all reasons—that such personages would not take an interest in the improvement of the Negroes. The Sectarians do enjoy the confidence of the Negroes, and are deeply interested in their improvement. This is the head and front of their offending in the eyes of the West Indians. But who are the Sectarians? Including the serious part of the Church of England, it may be said, that the Sectarians are nine-tenths of the Population of the Country. They are determined, too, not to be trifled with. A man must, indeed, be unable to see the wood for trees, if he do not see, that the partisans of what the West Indians call Sectarians will introduce into the next Parliament a sufficient number of Representatives prepared to impose on the Government the necessity of bringing the question of Slavery to the only issue worthy of a moment's consideration—full, and complete, and instant Emancipation, leaving the question of Compensation to be afterwards settled.

In reference to the declaration of the Jamaica planters, an English paper makes the following remarks:

'Rebels and incendiaries may be punished by law. Why have not the missionaries been so punished? It is plain that, if they could have been fairly exposed to any legal penalty, the planters would never, in their desperation, have adopted, as one of their resolutions, a pledge 'to expel the sectarians and other incendiaries from the island.' Why, the men are raving mad! What power in the United Kingdom, or in any colony under the crown of Britain, can lawfully expel the meanest human being from its territory, when he has committed no crime acknowledged by the law of England? But what despot, known to Europe or Asia, has, in modern times, so sinned against the human race, as to banish a man because of the peculiar sect of Christianity of which he was a member? The Grand Turk—nay, old Ali Pacha himself, the monster of Joannina—would have spat upon the Janissary who proposed to expel all sectarians from Jamaica! Try it, gentlemen, but prepare for a trial of strength, the next moment, with the people and Reformed Parliament of England, and see who will first be 'expelled'—the missionaries or their hateful persecutors. The truth must be told. These planters will not suffer their slaves to emerge, by the avenue of knowledge of any description, from the level of beasts, to which a long course of degrading treatment has reduced them. If men be once educated, or even shown the road to education, however imperfect, they will no longer endure the condition of quadrupeds. The Jamaica planters are well aware of this. Their resolutions are worthy of their system; but the Attorney General has commenced the lesson of law, which remains to be completed by the Government and Parliament of Great Britain.'

FREE BLACKS IN VIRGINIA.

At a meeting of the citizens of Fluvanna County, Va., held at the Court house on the 23d ult. Gen. John H. Cocke being in the chair, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

This meeting considering the residence of so large a number of free persons of color as are now inhabitants of this State, as an evil of the most serious magnitude, and one which, from the natural course of events, will continue to increase with a rapidity which demands, from a prudent and reflecting people, the earliest application of the most suitable remedy for its speedy mitigation, and final removal; And believing as we do, that, from the general ill and dissolute habits of the said free persons of color, so long as they remain intermixed and so intimately associated with our slave population, as from their similarity of complexion, congeniality of disposition, and other causes, they always have been, and will continue to be, that no other result can reasonably be expected, than that of reciprocal injury, and increased moral depravity and corruption; and that, therefore, the interest, welfare and happiness of ourselves as a community, as well as a regard to the dictates of humanity, looking to the amelioration and moral improvement of the condition of the colored both bond and free, require, that there should be a separation, which, in the present state of things, is only practicable by the removal and colonization of the free persons of color, without the limits of this Commonwealth.

Therefore, Resolved, 1st. That our Delegate to the Legislature, and Senator from the district of which this county is a component part, be instructed and requested to use their best exertions to procure an appropriation of money from the public Treasury, upon the most liberal scale which the state of the public finances will admit, for the removal of the free persons of color, and of such slaves as may be hereafter emancipated for removal, and settling and colonizing them at such place, without the Commonwealth, as the Legislature, in its wisdom, may direct.

2d. Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the evil proposed to be remedied, is one which should claim from the Legislature its most serious attention and consideration, and that the occasion will justify liberal appropriations of money to effect the desired object.

The above preamble and resolutions are but the echo of the sentiments, interspersed throughout the reports and publications of the Colonization Society, against the free people of color. They exhibit an equal mixture of naked villany and hypocritical benevolence, worthy of a combination of southern kidnappers. Will Mr. Guilely hail them as enacted 'for the more complete accomplishment of the great objects of the American Colonization Society'? We shall look narrowly at the next number of the African Repository for an elaborate panegyric.

It seems the free colored population of Virginia are increasing so rapidly as to scare sleep away from the eyes of the planters; and hence the latter propose to expel them from the State, out of the most profound regard for their welfare and the purity of the slaves!! Disinterested souls! 'You cannot spoil a rotten egg,' says the old adage; and to talk of corrupting those who are

deprived of all education, who revel in impurity, who herd together like beasts, and who are bought and sold more regularly than cattle, is very ludicrous indeed!—Yet General Cocke and his party merely adopt the language used in the Tenth Annual Report of the Colonization Society—'Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free colored. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them—to the slaves and to the whites!!!' This coincidence of opinion between the kidnappers in Virginia and the Society is no source of wonder—they understand each other perfectly.

But we are unable to account for this alarming increase of the free people of color in Virginia. We have been often assured by the slaves and their apologists that this population, in consequence of its vices, is rapidly destroying itself; and it is well known that the laws in the Ancient Dominion forbid the emancipation of the slaves, except on condition of their expulsion. There is something mysterious to us in this matter—or, if not mysterious, something at least contradictory. Will Gen. Cocke or Mr. Guilely explain? Perhaps the solution is, that the more they are afflicted, the more they multiply and grow.

We are told in the preamble, that the free persons of color are dangerous on two accounts, first, they and the slaves have a 'similarity of complexion.' Now this they cannot help: they are not charged with having painted their faces, or with having attempted to counteract a law of Nature: their skins were colored without their knowledge or privity: hence a better reason is needed to justify their banishment. Secondly, they and the slaves have a 'congeniality of disposition.' But the slaves, we are told by the planters, are contented and happy. Now if the free blacks have the same disposition, and are as contented and happy, (and we do not doubt it) why seek to expel them? Here, again, is a mystery or a contradiction, which Gen. Cocke or Mr. Guilely must explain: it is all Hebrew to us.

But the free blacks in Virginia are idle and dissolute. Well, whose fault is it? Why, those who are denouncing them—those who are calling for their removal! They prohibit the instruction of these miserable creatures under severe penalties, and will not permit them even to assemble on the Sabbath to worship their Creator; and now, forsooth, they are complained of as a nuisance!! Atrocious villany!

We copy with much pleasure the following paragraph from the last number of the York (Pa.) Farmer. It is an evidence of moral principle, on the part of the editor, as exalted as it is rare.

We have received another advertisement offering a reward for the apprehension of a runaway negro. We are always grateful for advertising patronage; but must decline placing in our columns any advertisement calculated to obstruct the path to freedom of an unfortunate slave. The runaway, 'Sam,' may be all that the advertisement describes; but we very much doubt whether a compulsory return to bondage would bring her to a school of reform! We perceive that the Franklin Repository, Harbinger Chronicle, Lancaster Journal, and Columbia Spy, are also requested to publish the advertisement above alluded to—but, if we are not much mistaken, at least two of those respectable journals will refuse it admittance into their columns. The time is approaching, when no Pennsylvania editor will be found willing to act as an assistant in the noble work of detecting and recapturing a fugitive slave.

Riot.—On Saturday evening last, two negroes were arrested in this city, and put in Bridewell for examination, by Mr. Constable Boudinot, upon a writ issuing from the Justices' Court. The negroes were said to be run-away slaves from Virginia, and their owners were here, prepared to identify and claim them. Yesterday, a colored woman, who married one of the men in July last, appeared, with some of her friends, in front of Bridewell, and, by degrees, a large crowd of blacks collected around her, and remained there through the day. The examination was postponed to this morning, when the place was thronged with blacks, of all ages and both sexes. At 10 o'clock, the two prisoners were brought up for examination, but their counsel suggested that they required further time to collect testimony of their freedom, they were remanded. Between the City Hall and Bridewell, an attempt was made by the mob of negroes to rescue them from the officers, (Messrs. Boudinot and Davis,) who were conducting them. The officers were struck and pushed aside; but, with the assistance of several police officers who came up, the assaults were soon repulsed. Four of the ring-leaders of the mob were immediately arrested and put in Bridewell. No white person appeared to afford the least countenance to this disgraceful riot.—N. Y. Jour. Commerce.

Murder.—On the 16th, a colored man, the property of Richard Felton, Esq. of Perquimans County, N. C. was murdered by a slave belonging to Kedar Felton. The aggressor, without any immediate provocation, is said to have knocked down his victim by a stone, and stabbed him with a knife; the latter survived but a few minutes.

Slavery is to be abolished at St. Helena. The English East India Company, to whom the Island belongs, have advanced the funds to purchase and liberate the slaves.

A writer in a Canada paper contends that the conduct of the United States towards people of color is not much better than the conduct of Russia towards the Poles. The same writer draws a comparison between the conduct of the British government and that of the United States toward the Indians, in which he argues that the philanthropy of John Bull has been fully equal to that of Brother Jonathan.

Duelling.—Samuel W. Stockton of Philadelphia has been required to pay a fine of Two Thousand dollars, by the Recorder of that city, and to enter into bonds to keep the peace, in a like sum, for sending a challenge to James Doughty to fight a duel. We rejoice to see that the authorities of Philadelphia are resolved to do all in their power to suppress this civilized system of murder.

A Happy Community.—The Dedham Advertiser states that 'all party animosities appear to have been consumed by the late fire in that town.' We should not object to the loss of a stable of two in a city, if the fire would consume at the same time 'all party animosities,' and not effect the stock of the Manufacturers' office.—Com. Gaz.

The deaths at New York during the week past, were 105, of which by Cholera none.

LADIES' DEPARTMENT.

'Am I not a Woman and a Sister?'



[BY REQUEST.]

LECTURE.

Delivered at the Franklin Hall, Boston, September 21st, 1832.

BY MRS. MARIA W. STEWART.

Why sit we here and die? If we say we will go to a foreign land, the famine and the pestilence are there, and there we shall die. If we sit here, we shall die. Come, let us plead our cause before the world: if they save us alive, we shall live—and if they kill us, we shall but die.

Methinks I heard a spiritual interrogation—'Who shall go forward, and take off the reproach that is cast upon the people of color? Shall it be a woman?' And my heart made this reply—'If it is I, will, be it even so, Lord Jesus!'

I have heard much respecting the horrors of slavery; but may Heaven forbid that the general sympathy of our color throughout these United States should experience any more of its horrors than to be a serpage of slaves, or hewers of wood and drawers of water! Tell us no more of southern slavery; for with few exceptions, although I may be very erroneous in my opinion, yet I consider our condition but little better than that. Yet, after all, methinks there are no chains so galling as the chains of ignorance—no fetters so binding as those that bind the soul, and exclude it from the vast field of useful and scientific knowledge. O, had I received the advantages of early education, my ideas would, ere now, have expanded far and wide; but, alas! I possess nothing but moral capability—no teachings but the teachings of the Holy Spirit.

I have asked several individuals of my sex, who transact business for themselves, if, providing our girls were to give them the most satisfactory references, they would not be willing to grant them an equal opportunity with others? Their reply has been—for their own part, they had no objection; but as it was not the custom, were they to take them into their employ, they would be in danger of losing the public patronage.

And such is the powerful force of prejudice.—Let our girls possess what amiable qualities of soul they may—let their characters be fair and spotless as innocence itself—let their natural taste and ingenuity be what they may—it is impossible for scarce an individual of them to rise above the condition of servants. Ah! why is this cruel and unfeeling distinction? Is it merely because God has made our complexion to vary? If it be, O shame to soft, reluctant humanity! 'Tell it not in Gath! publish it not in the streets of Askelon!' Yet, after all, methinks were the American free people of color to turn their attention more assiduously to moral worth and intellectual improvement, this would be the result:—prejudice would gradually diminish, and the whites would be compelled to say,—Unloose those fetters!

Though black their skins as shades of night, Their hearts are pure—their souls are white.

Few white persons of either sex, who are calculated for any thing else, are willing to spend their lives and bury their talents in performing mean, servile labor. And such is the horrible idea that I entertain respecting a life of servitude, that if I conceived of their being no possibility of my rising above the condition of a servant, I would gladly hail death as a welcome messenger. O, horrible idea, indeed! to possess noble souls aspiring after high and honorable acquirements, yet confined by the chains of ignorance and poverty to lives of continual drudgery and toil. Neither do I know of any who have enriched themselves by spending their lives as house-domestics, washing windows, shaking carpets, brushing boots, or tending upon gentlemen's tables. I can but try to express my sentiments; and I am as willing to die by the sword as the pestilence—for I am a true born American—your blood flows in my veins, and your spirit fires my breast.

I observed a piece in the Liberator a few months since, stating that the colonizationists had published a work respecting us, asserting that we were lazy and idle. I consult them on that point. Take us generally as a people, we are neither lazy nor idle; and considering how little we have to excite or stimulate us, I am almost astonished that there are so many industrious and ambitious ones to be found—although I acknowledge, with extreme sorrow, that there are some who never were and never will be serviceable to society. And have you not a similar class among yourselves?

Again—it was asserted that we were 'ragged and set, crying for liberty.' I reply to it, the whites have so long and so loudly proclaimed the theme of equal rights and privileges, that our souls have caught the flame also, ragged as we are. As far as our merit deserves, we feel a common desire to rise above the condition of servants and drudges. I have learnt, by bitter experience, that continual hard labor deadens the energies of the soul, and benumbs the faculties of the mind: the ideas become confined, the mind barren, and, like the scorching sands of Arabia, produces nothing—or like the uncultivated soil, brings forth thorns and thistles.

Again, continual hard labor irritates our tempers and sours our dispositions; the whole system becomes worn out with toil and fatigue; nature herself becomes almost exhausted, and we care but little whether we live or die. It is true that the free people of color throughout these United States are neither bought nor sold, nor under the lash of the cruel driver; many obtain a comfortable support; but few, if any, have an opportunity of becoming rich and independent; and the employments we most pursue are as unprofitable to us as the spider's web or the floating bubbles that vanish into air.

As servants, we are respected; but let us presume to aspire any higher, our employer regards us no longer. And were it not that the King eternal has declared that Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God, I should indeed despair.

I do not consider it derogatory, my friends, for persons to live out to service. There are many whose inclination leads them to aspire no higher;—and I would highly commend the performance of almost any thing for an honest livelihood; but where constitutional strength is wanting, labor of this kind, in its mildest form, is painful. And doubtless many are the prayers that have ascended to Heaven from Africa's daughters for strength to perform their work. Oh, many are the tears that have been shed for the want of that strength! Most of our color have dragged out a miserable existence of servitude from the cradle to the grave. And what literary acquirements can be made, or useful knowledge derived, from either maps, books or charts, by those who continually drudge from Monday morning until Sunday noon? O, ye fairer sisters, whose hands are never soiled, whose nerves and muscles are never strained, go learn by experience! Had we had the opportunity that you have had, to improve our moral and mental faculties, what would have hindered our intellects from being as bright, and our manners from being as dignified as yours? Had it been our lot to have been nursed in the lap of affluence and ease, and to have basked beneath the smiles and sunshine of fortune, should we not have naturally supposed that we were never made to toil? And why are not our forms as delicate, and our constitutions as slender, as yours? Is not the workman's hand as curious and complete? Have pity upon us—have pity upon us, O ye who have hearts to feel for others' woes; for the hand of God has touched us. Owing to the disadvantages under which we labor, there are many flowers among us that are

—born to bloom unseen.

And waste their fragrance on the desert air.

My beloved brethren, as Christ has died in vain for those who will not accept of offered mercy, so will it be in vain for the advocates of freedom to spend their breath in our behalf, unless with united hearts and souls we make some mighty efforts to raise our sons and daughters from the horrible state of servitude and degradation in which they are placed. It is upon you that woman depends; she can do but little besides using her influence; and it is for her sake and yours that I have come forward and made myself a hissing and a reproach amongst the people; for I am also one of the wretched and miserable daughters of the descendants of fallen Africa. Do you ask,—Why are you wretched and miserable? I reply, look at many of the most worthy and interesting of us doomed to spend our lives in gentlemen's kitchens. Look at our young men, smart, active and energetic, with souls filled with ambitious fire; if they look forward, alas! what are their prospects? They can be nothing but the humblest laborers, on account of their dark complexions; hence many of them lose their ambition, and become worthless. Look at our middle-aged men, clad in their rusty plaids and coats;—in winter, every cent they earn goes to buy their wood and pay their rents; their poor wives also toil beyond their strength to help support their families. Look at our aged sires, whose heads are whitened with the frosts of seventy winters, with their old wood-saws on their backs. Alas, what keeps us so? Prejudice, ignorance and poverty. But ah! methinks our oppression is soon to come to an end; yea, before the majesty of heaven, our groans and cries have reached the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. As the prayers and tears of Christians will avail the finally impenitent nothing; neither will the prayers and tears of the friends of humanity avail us any thing, unless we possess a spirit of virtuous emulation within our breasts. Did the pilgrims, when they first landed on these shores, quietly compose themselves, and say, 'The Britons have all the money and all the power, and we must continue their servants forever?' Did they sluggishly sigh and say, 'Our lot is hard—the Indians own the soil, and we cannot cultivate it?' No—they first made powerful efforts to raise themselves, and then God raised up those illustrious patriots, Washington and Lafayette, to assist and defend them. And, my brethren, have you made a powerful effort? Have you prayed the legislature for mercy's sake to grant you all the rights and privileges of free citizens, that your daughters may rise to that degree of respectability which true merit deserves, and your sons above the servile situations which most of them fill?

SALEM, November 8, 1832.

MR. GARRISON—As you observed in your recent interesting address delivered in this town, that you had been informed there did not exist a single society among our color; this opportunity is improved to inform you of the existence of a Society which was probably unknown to your informant, and which was, as you will find by the enclosed, formed February 22, 1832; and there is also the remnant of a Female Society, formed 15 or 16 years since, which, if I am correctly informed, is about to be recruited. Although it is well known and regretted by many, that we have long, much too long, neglected the most brilliant treasures of which man can be possessed—among which are Religion, Union and Education—yet I hope we shall, by despatch and promptitude, make some amends for our protracted indolence. We regret that your visit was not longer, and feel that it is pardonable so to do, when we expect that you will soon leave your country and to cross the broad Atlantic in our behalf; but the mist is somewhat dispelled by the pleasant anticipation of being favored with a visit from our interesting and interested friend Buffum, who well deserves our humble esteem.

CONSTITUTION OF THE FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF SALEM, FORMED FEBRUARY 22, 1832.

We the undersigned, females of color, of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, being duly convinced of the importance of union and morality, have associated ourselves together for our mutual improvement, and to promote the welfare of our color, as far as is consistent with the means of this Society; therefore we adopt the following resolutions.

Resolved, That as we believe the Boston Liberator to have been the means of enlightening the minds of many, in regard to the dangerous scheme of African colonization, and also removing the monster prejudice from the minds of many, in regard to the free people of color, by representing things in their true light, we are determined to support it and all anti-slavery publications.

Resolved, That this Society be supported by voluntary contributions, a part to be appropriated for the purchasing of books, &c.: the other to be reserved until a sufficient sum be accumulated, which shall then be deposited in a bank for the relief of the needy.

Resolved, That the meetings of this Society shall convene and conclude with prayer and singing. Any member who wishes to speak, is allowed the privilege: when any member speaks, there shall be no interruption.

Resolved, That this Society shall be governed by a President, Vice President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are hereafter to be instructed in the duties of their offices.

Resolved, That persons not conforming to the rules of the Society shall be expelled, by receiving a note or card bearing the names of the President and Vice President, and signed by the Corresponding Secretary.

MARY A. BATTYS, President.
E. A. DREW, Vice President.
CHARLOTTE BELL, Corresponding Sec'y.
HANNAH C. FOWLER, Recording Sec'y.
ELANOR C. HARVEY, Treasurer.
DOROTHY C. BATTYS, Librarian.

BOSTON.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1832.

NOTICE.

AN Address on Slavery will be delivered TO-MORROW (Sabbath) AFTERNOON in the South Congregational Church, (Rev. Mr. Mott's, Washington-street,) at half past two o'clock, by ARNOLD BUFFUM, President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Buffum will also deliver an address on slavery in the evening, at the Christian Chapel, (Rev. Mr. Himes's,) corner of Summer and Sea-streets, at 6 o'clock. A collection will be taken up in aid of the funds of the Anti-Slavery Society. Nov. 17.

NOTICE.

At the request of the Massachusetts General Colored Association, a meeting of the colored citizens of Boston and vicinity will be held in the School-house, Belknap-street, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, November 28th, to consider the expediency of petitioning Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

THOMAS DALTON, President.
JAMES G. BARBADOS, Secretary.

'HOME—SWEET HOME!'

After an absence of several weeks, the editor has the pleasure of re-occupying his venerable arm-chair, and now offers his greetings to all his friends and patrons. His tour has certainly been a pleasant one to himself, if not profitable to the cause of universal emancipation; but he trusts he has scattered in various places seeds which will spring up and bear fruit, some thirty, some fifty, and some a hundred fold. Some further particulars of his journey will be given to his readers, as soon as room can be obtained in the columns of the Liberator. Many individuals in Maine have large claims upon his gratitude; their numerous kindnesses he can never forget.

MR. GARRISON will deliver an Address on Slavery, Providence permitting, To-morrow (Sabbath) Evening, at 6 o'clock, in the Rev. Mr. Russell's meeting-house at Watertown.

RANKIN'S LETTERS.

We complete, to-day, this masterly series of Letters on Slavery; and we think no individual, who has candidly perused them, can longer doubt the reasonableness, the safety, and the duty of immediate abolition, or the awful criminality of slaveholders, and the terrible condition of the slaves. We trust the extreme length of this closing number will not deter a single person from reading it, as it very successfully overthrows the impious logic of those who resort to the scriptures to justify robbery and oppression. It also meets, in a summary manner, the objections of those who are for gradually becoming honest and humane men. Read it, dear reader—every word of it.

FREE GROCERY STORE.

It being in contemplation to establish an Anti-Slavery Grocery Store in this place, persons in favor of this object, and who would patronize such a store, are requested to send their names to the office of the Liberator. All the goods which we receive and purchase from the south are stolen from the slaves; and by their consumption we perpetuate slavery, by increasing the value of its victims: our patronage is a splendid bribe put into the hands of slaveholders, to enable them to plunder the helpless not only with impunity but with profit. It is desirable, therefore, for the sake of justice and humanity, to obtain sugar, molasses, rice, cotton, and other articles, not tainted with human blood. Free goods may be obtained if a sufficient patronage offers to warrant the opening of a Store for their sale in this city.

STARTLING DISPARITY. According to the Richmond (Va.) Telegraph, the interments in that city from September 11th to October 15th, were whites 98—blacks 389!—Of this number, about 437 were cholera cases. The fact that four colored persons fell victims to one white,—although we believe the whites considerably outnumber the blacks in Richmond—furnishes melancholy evidence of the degradation and misery to which southern tyranny has reduced the free colored and slave population. This disparity we have remarked in other portions of the slave States. We cannot deplore the removal of the suffering victims.

A FORGERY!!!

A petition in favor of African colonization, purporting to have been signed by forty British subjects in Cirencester, was presented in the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress by Mr. Mercer, one of the Vice Presidents of the Colonization Society. We denounced its presentation as anomalous and impertinent, at that time. Our readers will recollect that it was the occasion of one of the warmest and most acrimonious debates ever witnessed in Congress. It seems, by the following article, that the petition was a forgery! Mr. Macaulay was formerly Secretary of the London Anti-Slavery Society, and is one of the most distinguished philanthropists in Great Britain. The closing part of his letter shows that the principles of the Colonization Society are regarded by him with decided disapprobation. Who was the author of the forged petition? The public look to Elliott Cresson, Mr. Gurley, and Mr. Mercer for an answer.

From the New-York American.

American Colonization Society.—It may be remembered by some of our readers that during the last session of Congress, a petition by certain foreigners, in favor of the objects of the American Colonization Society, was presented to the House of Representatives, and led to a warm debate. The spirit of the debate we did not admire, but the decision, that the petition of foreigners, as to matters of our own, should not be entertained, we entirely approved.

By the following letter, which we take from the London Courier of 18th Sept. it would seem that this petition was a forgery. It will, therefore, become the member who presented it in the House of Representatives, (we do not recollect who it was, or whether it was presented by the Speaker,) to ascertain, if possible, the source of the imposture.

BANGOR, SEPT. 15.

To the Editor of the Courier:—Sir, I met accidentally to-day with your paper of the 13th instant, in which you have inserted the report of a debate in the Congress of the United States on the 12th of May last, on the presentation of a memorial from Mr. Fowell Buxton, Dr. Lushington, and myself, in favor of the American Colonization Society.—Certainly, no such memorial was ever signed or sanctioned by me, nor, I believe, by either of the other gentlemen named. The pretended memorial must, therefore, be either a hoax or a forgery. As for myself, had I been led to express any opinion publicly with respect to the Society in question, it would not have been in favor of the principles on which it now professes to act. I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant.

ZACHARY MACAULAY.

THE MARRIAGE QUESTION.

Extract from an Address by Mr. Garrison.

We wish to rescue from infamy a million female slaves, and we shall not cease from our efforts. But what is the motive ascribed to us by our enemies? I may as well here condescend to notice one of their many stupid and malignant accusations, because it has had a pernicious influence over many thoughtful minds. It is this: they say we are striving to get the slaves free, contend that they should intermarry with the whites. This is as absurd as it is false. I have never advocated nor recommended any such practice, and I am acquainted with no abolitionist who has done so. What power can control human affection? Who shall designate for me the person whom I shall wed? I prefer choosing for myself. I dare say you all do. Shall I quarrel with you, or you with me, on that account? But, it is said, we contend for giving the people of color equal rights and privileges; and if they get these, they will intermarry with the whites. If this is the necessary consequence of restoring that which does not belong to us, and doing justly to our fellow creatures, we cannot help it. One thing is pretty certain—there will be no compulsion; and if two persons love each other enough to be united in wedlock, it is none of my business, and I presume they would tell you it is none of yours. We have nothing to say, *pro or con*, on the subject of intermarriage, because it does not concern us. For one, I am willing to say, that the marriage connexion is a very solemn and responsible one, and that persons cannot be too careful in choosing their partners. Farther than this I say not.

But look at the logic, and humanity, and morality, of our calumniators. If the blacks should be treated like rational beings, they say, there would be an amalgamation of colors—ergo, the blacks ought to be kept in slavery, and regarded as beasts. Of course, they would give as a conclusive reason at the bar of God, why they did not break every yoke, that they knew that the liberated slaves would intermarry with the whites! Thus they have just made the important discovery that the slavery of the blacks is allowable. Now I am disposed to think that their argument proves too much. If it be true that we should intermarry with the blacks as soon as we allowed them their rights, then it proves there is something uncommonly attractive and amiable about their persons, and hence that they ought not to be held in servitude. Besides, I cannot but think that this is paying a very poor compliment to the beauty and fascination of our white ladies, in saying that the black ladies would certainly win all the hearts of the white gentlemen; and I think the compliment to the white gentlemen is equally penurious, in saying that the white ladies would prefer black gentlemen for husbands.

Our calumniators talk as if we strenuously advocated the suppression of one species of violence to practise another—that is, they would fain make the public believe that as soon as the slaves were liberated, the abolitionists would divide into two parties, one of which would seize as many of the blacks and the other as many of the whites as possible, and having brought them together, they would immediately proceed in the most fortuitous manner to yoke them together in pairs, as we do cattle! How very sagacious and probable does all this appear!

But we haul back the charge of advocating an amalgamation of the races upon our traducers. We accuse them, specifically and plainly, of being the friends and abettors of this amalgamation, (often, however, unintentionally,) under its worst features. Illicit intercourse is constantly taking place at the south, between slaveholders and their hapless victims, and a large proportion of the colored children born every year at the south have white fathers who use and sell them as they do their cattle. Now, we are for breaking up the slave system at once, and thus prevent this intercourse. Our traducers say

—No; let slavery alone—let the tide of pollution continue to swell—and let the female slaves have no protection for their virtue, so that they may be violated always, as at present, with impunity! Who, now, are the friends of amalgamation—abolitionists or gradualists? Judge ye.

Letters received at this office from Nov. 10, to November 17, 1832.

Wm. Anderson, New-London, Ct.; Abijah Blanchard, Haverhill, Mass.; Charles Marriott, Hudson, N. Y.; Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, New-Haven, Ct.; Joseph Carpenter, New-Rochelle, N. Y.; Wm. B. Bowler, Port-au-Prince; R. H. Rose, Silver Lake, Pa.

DEATH OF DR. SPURZHEIM.

It is our melancholy duty to record the death of a great and good man. Dr. Spurzheim, so well known in Europe and America as the companion of Dr. Gall—as a deep thinker and close observer of human nature—as an interesting teacher of moral and intellectual philosophy, and the author of several works on the anatomy and physiology of the brain and nervous system,—so highly esteemed for his eminent social virtues and moral worth, and so much beloved by all who shared his friendship, has been prematurely removed from this new scene of his contemplated labors. He died on Saturday evening, at his residence in Pearl Street, after an illness of about four weeks, deeply lamented by the friends he had made during his short residence in this city; his decease will also be a source of sorrow and disappointment to the inhabitants generally, not only of Boston, but also of other cities in other States, where his visits have been solicited, and anticipated with annual interest.

Dr. S. was born near Treves, in Germany, in 1776. He arrived in this country in September last. Just three weeks ago this day he delivered his last lecture. He was then evidently laboring under serious indisposition, contracted by occasional exposure to the cold night air after being much heated at his lectures. The greater part of Wednesday night he was disturbed by rigors and restlessness; and although too ill to leave his apartments the next day, he was unwilling to submit himself to active medical treatment. This unwillingness was not removed until his disease, which was a typhoid fever, had so far advanced that his medical attendants deemed it too late to expect benefit from medication. His brain was chiefly implicated, his reason departed, and he died without apparent suffering. He was anxious to live to accomplish the great moral purposes he had in view, but looked upon death without dread, and with that composure and serenity which might be expected from a Christian philosopher.

On the morning after his decease, his friends assembled at his apartments to consider what proceedings were rendered necessary and proper by this melancholy event; and it was decided the body should be examined and embalmed, and a bust taken, under the direction of Drs. J. C. Warren, J. Jackson, G. C. Shattuck, W. Channing, G. Parkman, J. Ware, E. Reynolds, C. Robbins, W. Lewis, J. G. Stevenson, J. Fisher, W. Grigg, and S. G. Howe.

The care and conduct of the funeral obsequies were committed to Hon. J. Quincy, President of Harvard University, Hon. H. G. Otis, N. Bowditch, L.L.D., Joseph Story, L.L.D., J. Tuckerman, S.T.D., Charles Follen, J.U.D., J. Barber, M.D., Charles Beck, J.U.D., and W. Grigg, M.D.

It was further provided that the papers, casts, and other property of the deceased, should be committed to John Pickering, L.L.D., N. Bowditch, L.L.D., T. W. Ward, Esq., and Nahum Capen, Esq., to make such disposition of the same as the law provides in such cases.

It is understood that the remains of the deceased will be interred at Mount Auburn, and an address made on the occasion by a gentleman who enjoyed a large share of his friendship, and was particularly acquainted with his great and important purposes, as well as his private feelings and character.

The Medical gentlemen above named proceeded, without delay, to execute the trust committed to them. A good cast has been taken, as well as several portraits. The appearances on examining the brain were such as are usually attributed to congestion; the minute vessels of the membranes being strongly injected, and presenting an appearance of unusual redness. The edges of the valves of the aorta were slightly indurated, and extensive adhesions of the omentum to the parietal peritoneum about the right iliac region indicated some recent or remote morbid action in that part. Further than this we could discern no mark of disease in any organ that was examined, although three peculiarities of structure were remarked:—one, the unusual size of the aorta, and the natural and proportional, not morbid, thickness of its coats; the second, the smallness of the arteria innominata, which was no larger than the left carotid or left subclavian; and the third, a bilobate spleen. It should be remembered that the destination of the body precluded the possibility of a very minute examination of the two most important organs.—*Boston Medical & Surgical Journal of 14th inst.*

The Committee appointed by the friends of the late Dr. SPURZHEIM give notice that his interment will take place this day, (Saturday,) from the Old South Church.

The services will commence at 3 o'clock, precisely, with a Prayer, by the Rev Dr. Tuckerman, antecedent to which there will be a Voluntary on the Organ, while the congregation are collecting.

After the Prayer, an Eulogy will be pronounced by Dr. Follen, followed by a Voluntary on the Organ. An Ode, written for the occasion by Rev. Mr. Pierpont, will then be sung by the Handel and Haydn Society, and the services will be closed by a Blessing.

The galleries will be opened at two o'clock, and will be appropriated to Ladies—the body of the church will be reserved for Gentlemen.

After the services, the Committee and other citizens who are desirous of paying this tribute to the memory of the deceased, will form a procession and follow the body to the receiving tomb of the Mount Auburn Cemetery, under Park street church, where it will remain until proper arrangements are made for its deposit in that Cemetery.

Mrs Henry Williams, widow of the late Mr Henry Williams, whose anatomical delineations of the human frame were so highly prized by the profession, has succeeded in taking an admirable mask from the face of Dr Spurzheim, from which she has made several very perfect casts. The admirers of the learned and lamented Doctor, will be gratified by examining them. Mrs Williams has a few of them on sale, and we commend her labors to the patronage of the scientific public.

Melancholy Occurrence.—Last evening about eight o'clock, Capt. Seth Barnes, a steady and respectable man, master and owner of the schr. Wave, put an end to his earthly existence by shooting himself with a pistol through the heart. He was standing by the side of St. Paul's Church.—*Portland Courier.*

Fire.—A blacksmith's shop in East Cambridge, occupied by Mr. Lyndes, (a colored man) was destroyed by fire about 6 o'clock on Wednesday morning. It is supposed to have originated from a lamp left burning in the shop during the night.

THE RECLAIMED HUSBAND.

When—when was public virtue to be found
Where private was not? Can he love the whole
Who loves no part? He be a nation's friend,
Who is, in truth, the friend of no man there?
Who slight the charities, for whose dear sake
That country, if at all, must be belov'd?—*Cowper.*

By the mayor and authorities, it is enjoined upon all the inhabitants who go into the streets after night fall, to carry with them a lantern, and those who neglect to do it will be liable to a punishment. And the patrol charged with the execution of this order, will commence this night. 'Who goes there?' cried the patrol to the first person it met. 'Why is it I?' 'Well who are you?' 'Why I am Blazé.'—'Advance,' said the patrol. 'I am here.'—'Where's your lantern?' 'Here it is.'—'But you have no candle in it.'—'They did not so order.'—'Very well,' said the patrol, 'they will order it.' The next day the drum again commenced its beat.

on board the boat, were Josiah Rodgers, a free person, and a colored boy named Thomas Smith, who saved themselves by swimming to the shore, although one of them was encumbered with a suit of thick clothes, of which he did not attempt to disencumber himself, for fear of exhausting his strength. The accident was occasioned by Peter Burch's imprudently stepping upon the gunwale of the boat, which, as there was a heavy sea running, immediately overturned her. The men held on to the bottom of the boat from the time she upset, until about 9 o'clock, when the three who were drowned relinquished their hold within a short time of each other; one of them stating to his fellow sufferers before he let go, that he could sustain himself no longer.—*N. Y. Com. Adm.*

How they do in Mexico.—The police of the city of Mexico send around tumbrils to collect the drunkards who are to be found stretched out in the streets. The Indians who are treated like dead bodies, are carried to the principal guard house. In the morning an iron ring is put round their ankles, and they are made to clean the streets for three days. —*Humboldt's New Spain*

STOCKS & LINEN COLLAR
viz : Velvet,
Bombazeen,

Silk,
Satin,
Hair Cloth, &c.,
Constantly on hand and for sale by
Oct 6 J. B. PER